More Revelations on Laos, Pages 2-3

Khrushchev at White House and Press Club Succeeds in Humanizing Our Image of Russia, See Page 4

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. VII, NO. 35 SEPTEMBER 21, 1959 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

The Arrival of A Dangerous Wizard

When I got to the Rochambeau monument at the corner of Lafayette Square which is nearest Blair House, the ropes were up along Pennsylvania Avenue but there were few people waiting. It was 9:30 a. m. Two photographers squatted outside Blair House. Three eager beaver students, one in a bright red shirt, were sitting on the curb. There were half a dozen cops on the corner in the sunshine. The air was crisp and autumnal. Four poorly dressed Negroes had anticipated me in finding vantage points around the high base of the monument from which to see Khrushchev arrive.

What one noticed first was that there were no displays of flags along Pennsylvania avenue; every bantam-weight visiting dictator from Latin America sees his flag hung from the lamp-posts between the Capitol and the White House but there were no hammer-and-sickles in sight. What one noticed next, as the morning wore on and the streets slowly filled, was how vigilantly the police were weeding out hostile banners. An Army sergeant came striding angrily across from the White House and pointed out to police a soldier with a mourning arm-band and a black skull-and-crossbones flag. He was quickly hauled away to await the arrival of MP's, and could be heard muttering indignantly about "a thug like Khrushchev." A stout shapeless woman in blue who tried to unfurl a banner reading "Khrushchev Not Welcome Here" got similar treatment.

A Welcome "Muted" As Planned

The State Department had long planned "a muted welcome," and Government employes had not been released from work to swell out the crowds as is usual when foreign potentates are expected. Lafayette Square filled up slowly. There were many tourists, recognizable by cameras carried on shoulder straps; the kind of white-haired ladies who still go faithfully to peace rallies; a sprinkling of students and a high proportion of Negroes. The latter were guarded and non-committal. The sidewalks did not fill out until the lunch hour, and the crowds were oddly quiet. Nobody seemed to speak to his neighbor; there was no joking; one felt that both the hostile and the friendly were afraid to be heard. The miasma of the loyalty-security program may have affected the latter while new immigrants like the Hungarians brought police state fears with them. A crowd in Moscow in Stalin's day might have been just this unsure about how to welcome a foreign visitor.

It was not so much a cold as a confused and inhibited crowd which stood waiting to see the Soviet Premier. For days in advance, it had been warned that his would be a malignant, almost occult, presence. The Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, had publicly requested that Catholic priests and members of religious orders stay away from Khrushchev during his visit, as if something hypnotic in his very gaze might impel priests to sign up for private lessons in Marxism-Leninism. The newspapers were full of ads warning against the ill effects of the visit. One intrepid fellow named Leon Ackerman inserted a full page subversively bearing the quotation "Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself" in the *Evening Star* the night before Khrushchev's arrival but dared not openly suggest that this might apply to our Soviet neighbors. Cardinal Spellman astutely prescribed three extra Hail Mary's daily in the parochial schools to protect children during the visit from ideological fallout. No visiting wizard ever had a bigger advance build-up.

They Made The Sign in The Sky

When a loud speaker finally announced the arrival at Andrews Field, a white streak appeared in the cloudless heavens overhead and then a second white streak turned it into a cross, as if to ward off maleficence. Anti-Communists had hired a sky-writing plane. As Khrushchev's unexpectedly pleasant voice and soft Russian began to come over the amplifier, a lone policeman appeared high up on the roof of the rococo old State Department building and stood with folded arms against the sky. When the translation brought across Khrushchev's little joke about the earth being several hundred kilograms lighter and the moon that much heavier, there was no chuckle in the crowd. But there was an angry rumble, the first and only reaction I heard, as Khrushchev went on to say that when the U. S. pennant reached the moon it would be greeted by the Soviet pennant "as an old resident." A bright eyed lady nearby answered the indignant "heys" of the crowd by saying tongue-in-cheek, "he thinks we have a sense of humor." It began to look as if this were another of Khrushchev's misconceptions about the U. S. A.

When the parade started past, there was a burst of applause for the mounted police, riding a troop of horses as graceful as ballet dancers. But there was only light applause and a few timid cheers for the ebullient Khrushchev when he swept by, waving his black homburg above his shiny bald head. Ike, seated between him and the motherly looking Mrs. K., did not seem at all happy, and indeed on the TV screens later that night it began to look as if the CIA had advised him to keep his famous smile carefully hidden lest the visiting Old Bolshevik expropriate it. Ike will get a heartier reception in Moscow. Our capital was lovelier than ever in the bright sun but its bewildered people must have seemed cold. Moscow will be dark, gloomy and chill but its people's welcome will be warm. The Russians must remember that peace has long been regarded as a suspect word here; that these visits represent a sharp turn of policy; and that only Ike could have gotten away with this first ice-breaking prelude to what so many of us hope will be a thaw. The cold war has too long kept our minds in deep freeze.

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Still No Evidence of Invasion But More Indications of Pentagon Connivance

Pity That UN Investigating Committee Can't Come to Washington . . .

Mr. Eisenhower's TV report on his European trip consisted largely of that vague and watery soup of thinned out moralisms which are customarily served up to us as foreign policy. It was disturbing to find that the President seemed to be concrete only in discussing Laos. Apparently Mr. Eisenhower discussed the situation in Laos when he was in Bonn, London and Paris as another example of "the aggressive actions of the Communists in Asia" and lined up support for United Nations action. It looks as if the President, who was persuaded to veto intervention in Indochina in 1954, has been sold a bill of goods on Laos.

It is a pity the UN investigating committee now on its way to Laos cannot spend a few days in Washington. We suspect that the committee could learn a great deal more in the Pentagon and at the State Department about the genesis of the fighting in Laos than on the untracked border between that country and North Vietnam.

Threats to Freedom?

The President said in his TV talk, "We must be concerned about threats to freedom, no matter where they occur." The most effective threat to freedom in Indochina since 1954 has come from our own country. Our influence has brought into being undemocratic regimes in both South Vietnam and Laos. The elections held in the former last month were in all but name the same kind of phoney one-party "elections" which are held in Communist countries. As the Associated Press put it delicately in a cable (Aug. 27) from Saigon on the eve of those elections, "the 460 candidates running for 123 seats include no opposition candidates in the western sense of the word."

In Laos on U. S. encouragement the government has been growing progressively more dictatorial since the summer of 1958 when the International Control Commission left. A good part of the current alarums about "invasions" which never turn up seems to be motivated by the desire of the Laotian army to take over completely from the civilians. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff seems to have been throwing its weight behind these incompetent Laotian military men, and encouraged them to launch that clean-up operation against Communists and other oppositionists which seems to have sparked the present troubles. It is a pity the UN investigating committee can't have access to the censored material to which we called attention last week. This material, deleted from page 68 of the recently published Porter Hardy subcommittee hearings on *U. S. Aid Operations in Laos* shows that last January our Joint Chiefs of Staff for the first time set tasks for the Laotian army. One of them was to fight some kind of holding action "for the time required to invoke the UN Charter or the SEATO Treaty."

"Their Just Hopes for A Better Life"

"The Communist bloc apparently intends to foment and direct rebellion within Laos and to give extensive support to the attempt to seize important areas and otherwise to prevent the establishment of those peaceful conditions necessary to implement basic economic and social programs. In short, the Communist intervention is apparently aimed at preventing the Lao people from realizing their just hopes for a better life."

—State Department Press Release No. 636, Sept. 5.

"There are some indications, in fact, that this latest flare-up of East-West tension was not a long planned Communist plot to strike at a Free World weak spot, but a reaction against an American-encouraged Laotian internal anti-Communist drive."

—Wash. Post military expert John G. Norris, Sept. 18.

That Alleged Invasion

There is reason to suspect that this operation was a political clean-up of oppositionists which might set off civil war and possibly invasion from North Vietnam; the Laotian army to hold the fighting until the U. S. or its Asian allies could intervene via the UN or SEATO. Even if the UN Committee cannot come to Washington, it may be able to learn more about this possibility if it looks closely enough in Laos. It is curious to notice that the Laotian appeal to the United Nations of September 4 said, "Since 16 July 1959 foreign troops have been crossing the frontier and engaging in actions against

London Daily Telegraph Correspondent on The Background of the "Invasions"

"Plans are being made to fly UN Committee members to areas of tension in Northern Laos, notably Samneua, the source of so much misinformation in recent weeks. In this pretty little mountain town, with its hair-raising airfield approach, Gen. Amkhan, regional commander for four provinces, has been giving out totally inaccurate military information, wielding the red pencil which he uses to mark enemy positions on his situation map with the verve and sweep of an inspired abstract painter.

"Thus a few days ago he told a group of correspondents of a sharp skirmish some 15 miles from his spacious bungalow headquarters, unaware that at the same time the company commander in the village referred to was telling a second group that his area had been quiet for weeks. The same thing has been happening at Army headquarters in Vientiane.

"One is tempted to conclude from this that the Laotian crisis was artificially created by the Government to cover its own deficiencies, or for material gain. But this is far short of a full explanation.

"There were a number of border crossings in July by Pathet Lao and Black Thai forces, and it is likely that a number of the latter were technically Viet Minh, since this hardy tribal group occupies an area extending across the line so that many Black Thai are legal residents of Communist North Vietnam.

"These incursions created something close to panic in a Government suddenly fully aware that its neglect of tribal groups who constitute almost half of the population and of rural dwellers generally had caused much disaffection."

—Frank Robertson from Vientiane, London Telegraph Sept. 11.

"Representatives of the United States, which is obviously prepared to make some sort of stand in support of the Laotian government, have been almost as busy as the Laotians in their attempts to uncover evidence of Viet Minh participation, but with no greater success." —Same.

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We've Already Poured A Quarter Billion Down That Military Rathole in Laos

. . . It Might Learn More Here Than in Vientiane of the Laotian "War"

garrison units of the Royal Army stationed along the northeastern frontier of Laos. . . ."

But with all the Americans there are in Laos, in close touch with its army through military assistance, there was no news of this alleged invasion. There was nothing in the *New York Times* until July 31 two weeks later. Then a special from neighboring Saigon, in South Vietnam, spoke not of invasion but of "large scale terrorist activities [which] had broken out in Laos" and said the leaders of the Pathet Lao party including Prince Souphanouvong "had been placed in detention camps." Why no mention of any invasion at the time? Why no direct word from the Laotian capital, Vientiane? Had censorship been used to keep from the outside world the news that oppositionists had been thrown into detention camps? Was the talk of "terrorist activities" only a smoke-screen for an anti-Communist terror?

We present on these two pages further evidence of the realities being kept from the American people. We have spent close to a quarter billion dollars on the Laotian army since military assistance was instituted and we are now beginning to pour more millions in aid down this same rathole. Even the inflated figures emanating from Laos have never put the size of the rebels at more than 5,000 men. There must be something rotten in the state of Laos if it cannot handle the rebels with the 25,000 soldiers and the 15,000 policemen we have been supporting so royally, at an average cost of more than $1,000 a man per year as against the less than $500 per man it costs to support a soldier in comparable Greece or Pakistan. We have been "had" by a small group of Laotian sharpies in and around Vientiane who have made themselves fortunes on U. S. aid and are now using a highly exaggerated crisis to get more out of us. The swindle would be comic if it did not threaten the peace of the world, for a new Korea may not be as easily contained as was the last.

One Rumor Refuted

"Government sources said there is absolutely no truth in rumors, apparently planted by Communist agents, that authorities here are negotiating or planning to negotiate with the Reds. They said the only Communist 'representatives' in Vientiane — pro-Red Prince Souphanouvang and 10 others—are in jail."

—UPI from Vientiane, Wash. Daily News, Sept 12.

"The government only yesterday rejected a Pathet Lao bid for negotiations. The official publication of Neo Lao Haksak, Pathet Lao's political party, had stated that the rebels were ready to resolve the Laos problem by peaceful means 'if such a settlement is truly desired by the Royal Lao Government'."

—Wall St. Journal special from Vientiane, Sept. 10.

Asia's Most Highly Paid Army But Good Neither for Politics or War

Mr. [Richard P.] BRAY [Jr. counsel to Porter Hardy subcommittee]: We have numerous documents in the record . . . showing that over a period of some 4 or 5 years past, all departments, including Defense, State and ICA, have gone on record numerous times that the Lao soldier is the highest paid soldier in Asia. Do you think that is wrong? Is that information erroneous?

Mr. [Brig. Gen Rothwell H.] BROWN [US Army Ret., former chief in Laos of the Programs Evaluation Office for Dept. of Defense until Feb. 27 of this year]: No, it isn't.

—Exec. Session, April 21, Hardy subcommittee House Gov't Operations on U. S. Aid Operations in Laos p. 734.

Mr. [Porter] HARDY [chairman subcommittee]: I think you said the army was engaged in a civic action pre-election program?

Mr. BROWN: Yes, sir. They put on, through the Army, what we have called out there a civic action program, Mr. Chairman. That consisted of the dissemination of Government propaganda, of Government programs, of placing of posters for the conservative candidates all over the country, of going out and making speeches for the Government candidates, of maintaining order around the election booths. . .

Mr. HARDY: General, insofar as the election is concerned, the election didn't come out too successfully, did it . . . the Communists picked up an awful lot of representation. . . .

Mr. BROWN: Sir, if the program hadn't been put on, I don't know what would have happened.

Mr. HARDY: Conceivably they might have elected more Communists.

—Same, P. 737.

Mr. [Charles M.] BAILEY [General Accounting Office]: The Military Assistance Program [in Laos] is administered by a group known as a Programs Evaluation Office or PEO . . . PEO did not know the actual strength of forces. . . . At the time of our last visit, PEO still had no means of verifying that rations or financial support furnished to the Lao army actually reached the troops. . . . Our review disclosed that annual programs have been developed for Laos without adequate knowledge of the forces being supported, the needs of these forces, or the military supplies already delivered to Laos. These programs do not appear always to have been motivated by military consideration.

[Security Deletion]

. . . For example we found an excess of from 3 to 5 years supply of tires and tubes on hand or due in but additional quantities were included in the program submission. . . .

Staff personnel have not had training or experience in logistics, and the PEO has estimated that the logistical system would collapse even more quickly than the Lao forces would disintegrate.

—Same, Exec. Session March 19, Pages 242-4.

"In summary, the decision to support a 25,000-man army —motivated by a Department of State desire to PROMOTE political stability—seems to have been the foundation for a series of developments which DETRACT from that stability. [Emphasis in original].

"Given that decision, the minimum size of the necessary aid program was inexorably established at a dollar value far beyond the estimated rate at which the Lao economy could absorb it. From this grew intensive speculation in commodities and foreign exchange, productive of inflation, congenial to an atmosphere of corruption, and destructive of ANY stability, political or economic.

"With so much of the aid available for Laos earmarked for support of military forces, little attention was paid to programs which might reach the people of the villages. The aid program has not prevented the spread of communism in Laos. In fact, the Communist victory in last year's election, based on the slogans of 'Government corruption' and 'Government indifference' might lead one to conclude that the U. S. aid program has contributed to an atmosphere in which the ordinary people of Laos question the value of the friendship of the United States."

—U. S. Aid Operations in Laos, report of the Porter Hardy subcommittee, June 15, p. 50.

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What the Enemies of Peace Feared in Fighting the Exchange of Visits

Krushchev's First Appearances Here Are Humanizing the Russian Image

Mr. Khrushchev's first appearance here, at the White House dinner and before the National Press Club, demonstrated that the worst fears about his visit were justified. What the enemies of peace feared is that he would humanize our picture of the Russian people and of their leader.

Man, for all his love of war, is reluctant to kill his brother. Before every war, it is necessary to picture the enemy as unhuman. The enemy must be pictured both as sub-human, so that it is no sin to kill him, and super-human, so that to kill him is sheer self-preservation.

Mr. Khrushchev is destroying both these images, and in this sense he *is* disarming us, deflating hatred and making easier the search for peace. He has a homely way of talking, a peasant's shrewdness, a very bright man's mental agility. In replying to the President's toast at the White House dinner, for example, he was quick to exploit Mr. Eisenhower's reference to our establishment of diplomatic relations with Alexander The First.

Czar Feared Those American Revolutionists

"I don't think the Emperor trusted your Ambassador too much," Khrushchev said, scoring a point for the co-existence of different social systems, "because after all the United States was a Republic and Alexander was a Czar, but all the same there did exist mutual understanding between the two countries. . . ."

Mr. Khrushchev's appearance before the National Press Club was a success. It is difficult to imagine how little accustomed a dictator is in a Communist country to being faced in public with difficult, unpleasant and even rude questions. Russia has made progress when the head of its government, with power beyond that of a Czar, can stand up to the kind of questions which were put to Mr. Khrushchev.

Not all the answers were entirely responsive, but Mr. Khrushchev had to keep in mind not only the press club but his audiences in Russia and China. He showed spunk in taking the first one, a right-to-the-chin about the famous apocryphal story on what he was doing during the Stalin period. He was weakest on Hungary, but it was revealing that he was defensive and that he did not fall back on Communist cliches.

His answer on the Jewish question, that Jewish scientists had a place of honor in the launching of the recent moon-shot, will be helpful if given publicity in Russia where race prejudice is far from wiped out and much covert discrimination exists. It was impressive that Mr. Khrushchev did not deny the "bury you" statement but gave an honest answer, according to his lights. We believe he will make a deservedly good impression in our country.

Still Long Way to Go on The German Question

Mr. Khrushchev's remarks on Germany in his prepared text, however, indicate that no miracles are to be expected from this visit. A German peace treaty is a first essential for the stabilization of Europe but the Communist formula of separate peace treaties with the separate parts of a divided Germany is a dangerous optical delusion. So long as Germany is divided, Europe and the world are divided. The East German regime is not a real regime but an artificial creation imposed by Russian force of arms. A new war can easily start in this divided land.

Unfortunately neither side shows any readiness to face up to the German reality. The Russians understandably will not consent to a reunified rearmed Germany, especially one linked with NATO. While we show no disposition to give on this point, the Russians in turn (as both the German Social Democrats and more recently the British Laborites learned in Moscow) have become less and less interested in unification. A status quo which includes a divided Germany is intrinsically unstable yet this is the status quo on which Mr. Khrushchev wants to settle.

The existence of Berlin as an island within the Soviet zone makes reunification a necessity. The Germans, who know each other only too well, do not trust the East German Communists to honor their pledges about "a free Berlin" once they feel strong enough to take it over.

We shall have to tackle less difficult problems first before we can hope to solve this one. Relaxation of tension, especially if it slows up the nuclear rearmament of Germany, may make the German question easier to solve. In this respect, too, the Khrushchev visit may make its contribution.

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NEWSPAPER

Entered as Second Class Mail Matter Washington, D. C. Post Office

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Entered as Second Class Matter at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Post-dated Mondays but published every Thursday except the last two Thursdays of August and December at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W., Washington 15, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U. S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

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